OCTOBER, 1924 20 Cents

Labor Age

The Show-down Has Come

LA FOLLETE vs. COOLIDGE

klalvin kloolidge, klandidate

More About "Education with a Punch"

The White Collar Worker speaks up

Vol. XIII, No. 8 October, 1924

20c per copy

Labor Age

Monthly Labor Digest

$2.00 per year

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., Evening Telegram Building, Seventh Ave. and 16th St., New York
Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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YOUR CHANCE AND MINE

WORDS of Wisdom never fall in vain on the ears of wise men. Hearken, then, to what that humorous sage of the Labor World, Adam Coaldigger, sayeth of the present campaign. (For all the readers of Labor Age are verily modern Solomons; if otherwise, they would not scan our pages.)

Of Silent Cal this shrewd old Illinois miner writes: "If I believed with Joshua that the earth stood still while the sun moved around it, I would vote for Coolidge. He is the perfect still stander. He never says anything that some one else had not said better, before the Pilgrim fathers landed on Plymouth Rock. Most of our Presidents were old men before they became president but Coolidge was born so old that it stunted his growth. I always admired Coolidge. I also admire the dinosaur I saw in the Metropolitan Museum. I would not vote for a Dinosaur, unless he ran against Coolidge. He is bigger than Cal and a little more lively."

"John W. Davis," adds Adam," who is Cal's running mate on the opposite ticket, is a much more brilliant man than Coolidge. If elected he will do all that Cal would do, but they wouldn't have to tell him how to do it. If Davis would have been in the White House the last four years the Teapot Dome scandal would not have happened. The shift would have been so smooth that nobody would have noticed the transaction. As the lawyer of the ten largest corporations, Davis knows all the big crooks in the country and they can't put anything over on the common people without him being next to them."

"But La Follette is the candidate of the horny-handed sons of toil who have shed the horns on their heads. He is a Russian bolshevik, born in Wisconsin, as the descendant of a French Huguenot whose grandson settled in Kentucky, two doors from where Lincoln's father spanked young Abe. That's why they call him the foreigner and an international! The foreign part is further proved by the strange fact that after forty years in politics, he is still honest. During those forty years he has labored untiringly for the common dubs, which explains why he is poor as well as honest. For my part, I'm going to vote for Bob La Follette and his buddy, Wheeler, as early and often as the law allows."

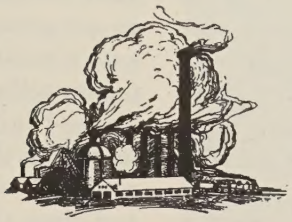
So there you are, Brother Worker. The line-up is complete. Cal and Davis, two wings of the same Bird of Prey, stand on one side: Bob and Wheeler on the other.

Victory is around the corner for you and me in this fight. It is up to us to make it real. Only a few days exist, in which to make the final drive for our own ticket. The battle has narrowed down to a contest between La Follette and Mr. Andrew Mellon, disguised as Calvin Coolidge. The Democratic Party has sealed its betrayal of its own principles by virtually ceasing to exist.

Do we want the destruction of trade unionism entirely, the strengthening of the autocratic use of the injunction, the coming into American life of another Mussolini? Or, do we want Freedom? The answer is up to us.

Entered as second class matter, November 19, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. *Copyright, 1924.*

Labor Age



The Show-Down Has Come

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THIS—
OR
LA FOLLETTE

N. Y. World

It is
"Coolidge and Dawes"
or
"La Follette and Wheeler"
Now

IT was in Trenton, just the other day. We were ambling down State Street in the city made famous by George Washington and Woodrow Wilson, coming from the Capitol. There we had filed the petitions placing Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin and Burton K. Wheeler of Montana on the ballot in New Jersey.

Suddenly the whole cavalcade on the thoroughfare came to a halt—ourselves, other tourists on foot, autocars and trucks. There, at high noon on a busy day, all traffic stopped—to allow a 25-foot drawbridge to be raised over the old State Canal, so that two yachts from Philadelphia might slowly pass by. An airplane buzzing overhead made a quaint contrast between the old form of travel and the new.

So runs the history of man—not only in the mechanical world, but in political and economic life. Birth, growth, decay—to make way for new births and new growths. The old gives way painfully to the new—trying to kill the new thing, as some animals try to kill their young. But give way it must, and give way it does—when its long record of abused ideals, showing themselves in corruption and rottenness, comes to a head.

Once upon a time, not so long ago, the slow-moving stagecoach covered the roads of our country and of Merrie England. Then came the monster machines and workmen, tearing through the earth, uprooting and filling in—to build the railroads. The locomotive tore through the land thereafter, undis-

puted master of transportation—until one day the road came back for revenge. The automobile appeared upon the scene, and the auto-truck is now wrestling thousands of pounds of freight from the rail-monster's grasp.

In this month of October, 1924, we stand—you and I, Brother Worker—on the firing line of another struggle for a new American regime. The dice of fate are loaded in our favor. Victory is as sure as that the slave of 1856 would eventually be free. The American workers and farmers will come out on top, in control of the government which belongs to them—tomorrow, if we lag in the fight, today if we put all our energies to the task.

There is no way to evade the final outcome. Dividends cannot continue to pour into the coffers of the little coteries of banking interests in New York, without upsetting altogether the healthy condition of our country. These dividends are the result of labor. They must flow freely among the common people, if the wheels of industry are to turn. No matter how licentiously or luxuriously the members of the banking combine may live, they cannot possibly consume enough to make industry go on in a manner that will give work to all. That is one item of the great challenge hurled at the workers and farmers of America in this year 1924. The banking and Monopoly Interests must be curbed and destroyed, if we are to have a free and prosperous land—the America of tradition, though no longer of fact.

Out in the Northwest, in the early stages of the present fight, they distributed widely a cartoon which tells the entire story. It showed a tailor with two coats, and a farmer with two pigs. In between was a fat and contented individual—the railroad and grain and packing interests— through whose hands the pigs and coats had to pass. At the end of the operation, the tailor had one pig, the farmer one coat—and the fat man had a coat and a pig.

Czar Taft

The last year, the financial papers themselves report, showed the biggest peace-time dividends in American history for the big basic Monopolies. It witnessed their grip on our government as never before—equalled only by the grip of the Slave Power on Washington prior to the advent of Abraham Lincoln. It saw the bankruptcy of the farmers and the lash over the workers. It beheld the United States Supreme Court—which General Dawes looks upon as the cornerstone of "our liberties"—serving as the pliant tool of the Monopoly Combines. This same United States Supreme Court—which in the slavery fight gave us the reeking Dred Scott decision—today hands us the ukases that child labor must continue in this land but that stock dividends do not come under the income tax. By numerous 5 and 4 decisions, it has struck at the best of our public welfare measures. And it is William Howard Taft—"Injunction Taft," the man so severely defeated by the American people for his O. K. of corruption—who today sits in that prostituted body and gives aid and comfort in making these decisions. It is his one vote which wipes out the measures put on our statute books by the workers and the farmers. Taft, defeated by you so overwhelmingly in 1912, is now your Czar.

The crystal glass of History shows that the future is ours. Ours is the winning side. But it also shows that this victory must come now unless we wish the struggle to be more bitter and the success to be gained at much greater cost. Sidney Reeve in his Modern Economic Tendencies, published in 1921, gives us the cue. He tells us, even then, that we have reached "the President Buchanan stage of the evolution of our pending economic world-crisis." "The election of Mr. Harding in 1920," he says, "as much for the repression of radical expressions of economic discontent as from hatred of Mr. Wilson's policies, is a startling parallel with the election of Buchanan in 1856." And as we know, Buchanan's election as the choice of the Slave Power was only the certain prelude to the election of Lincoln four years later.

But this is the thing that we should take to heart in what Reeve says: "Today commercialism is playing exactly the role which slavery played yesterday. Energized by modern invention, it has grown into such a huge abuse that it, and not its natural child-discontent—is about to enforce its own abolition. But if we are to prevent this cataclysm it must be by doing something which Lincoln did not do, namely, foresee and act with a determination which the North exerted only after it was too late to avoid war."

Davis' Anemic Appeal

Now is the time for action—the next few weeks that lie between the present and November 4th. Into that short time we should cram all the energy and force that is within us, in the effort to elect Fighting Bob and his partner to the White House. That is the way to avert a more intense and bitter crisis in the future. The fight all over the country has centered down to a contest between the reactionary Republican ticket and the Progressive candidates.

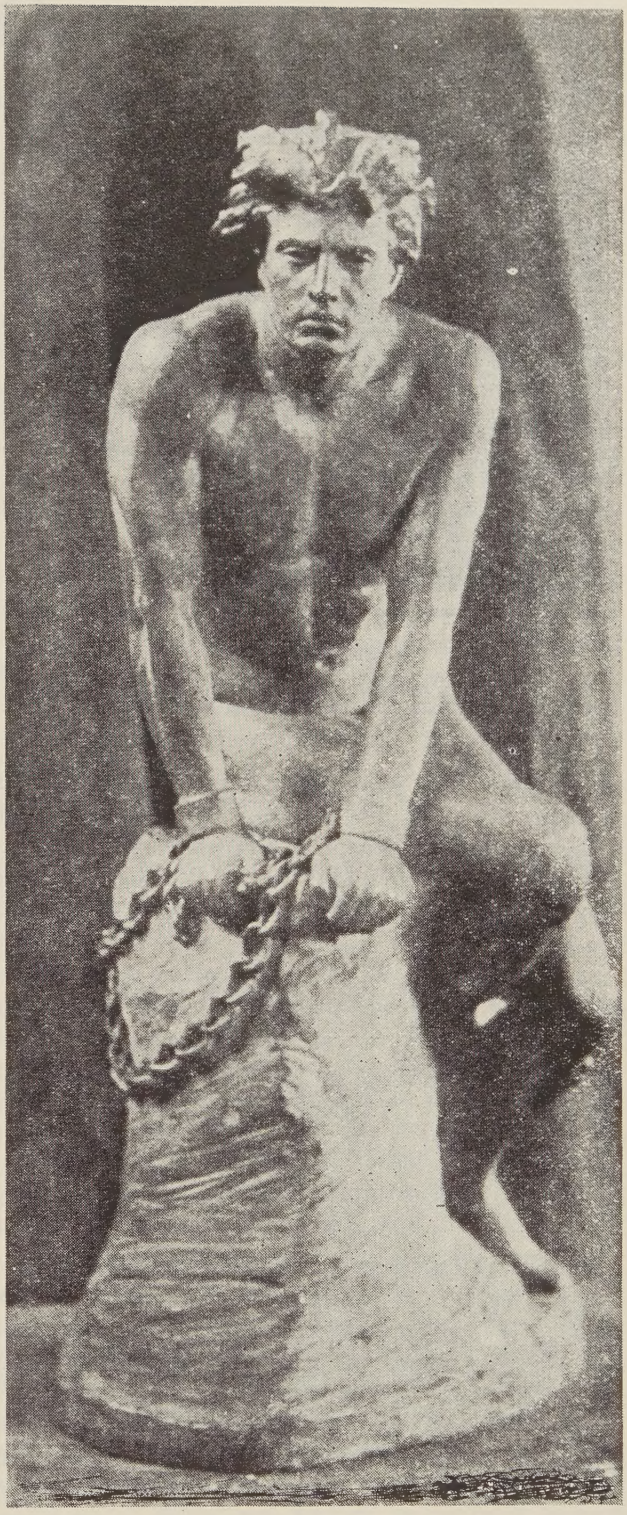
The Democratic Party, endeavoring to ride horses going in different directions, has found itself going backward. It is completely out of the running. John W. Davis is the Alton B. Parker of 1924. He has the same corporation record as Parker, the same anemic appeal to the public, and will suffer the same overwhelming defeat. That is the conviction of political prophets everywhere, whether they be reactionary or progressive. LaFollette, in the words of Mr. Dawes, is the issue of the campaign. It is the corrupt, immoral, and anti-social Republican gang which alone forms a barrier to his victory.

If you needed no other incentive for immediate action, the vision of the alternative before you should be enough. The swivel chair "General," who is the real spokesman of the Republican Party, has forecasted what his success will mean to the workers and farmers of America. With the fitting contempt of a man who has consorted with such arch-crooks as William Lorimer, Dawes openly attacks the American people as "the mob." They should not be trusted, he contends, with the question of whether or not their own constitution should be amended. That was the burden of his Milwaukee speech, by which he had hoped to incense the followers of LaFollette who know and love "Fighting Bob" into some violent act that would discredit them. The fate of the American people should be put in the hands of another Mussolini—a "superman" of the Dawes variety, who showed how successfully he can defraud the workers and farmers and small business men in his corrupt deal with Lorimer in the Chicago bank. By that deal, 4,000 people lost their savings, as the records of the Federal Courts testify. This man is a fitting choice of the party of Fall and Forbes and Daugherty and the other corruptionists.

The Class Line-Up

In his speeches Dawes has clearly laid down the class line-up in the present fight. He has attacked the farm bloc, the labor bloc, the mothers' bloc, the soldiers' bloc— all the people, having praise alone for the Wall Street bloc, whose faithful servant and spokesman he is. Apologizing for the Ku Klux Klan, as the founder of the "Minute Men" should do, he and his Republican machine have allied themselves with this organization—in the hope of hocus-pocusing the people and distracting their attention from the real issues before them. It is like the old game played on the country couple at a county fair. One crook diverts their attention, while the other picks their pockets.

President Coolidge further re-emphasized this line-up on Labor Day, when he told a group of so-



THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT

American Labor has not only entered the political field. It has also inspired efforts to put its spirit into sculpture, as seen in this work of Helen Sahler.

Hearst Newspapers.

WHERE IS CAL?

The Sugar Profiteer robs the widow, but Herbert Hoover and Calvin Coolidge cannot see it. Why should they?

called labor men (paid at the rate of $10.00 per day and expenses, to come and hear him) that the American worker should be satisfied with his condition, since the condition of the European worker is so much worse. As George L. Record says, "Did Lincoln hesitate to free the slaves in this country because the condition of the Egyptian slave was so much more wretched?" Of course, the answer is No. Lincoln saw that slavery was wrong. It defrauded human beings of their social and economic freedom. It forced them to work in order that other men might enjoy. He saw that it was a thing of evil, and destroyed it. But Dawes, had he lived in the slavery period, would have led the Boston mob which attempted to lynch William Lloyd Garrison—as the future President of the Shawmut National did lead it. And Calvin Coolidge would have joined the ranks of the conservative time servers who cursed and abused Lincoln for his mild anti-slavery platform. They are men of the same type and mold.

Men, after all, are only the reflections of the interests they represent. It is no accident that has led to the rising tide of support for LaFollette and Wheeler. It is no accident that has created the 100 per cent unity within the ranks of Labor, back of their candidacy—a unity attained for the first time in American history. It is something deeper than that that is causing the Republicans to talk about LaFollette, the Democrats to talk about LaFollette, while LaFollette is talking about himself —to quote Mark Sullivan, who certainly is not sympathetic with the LaFollette cause.

The women who appear before the Railroad Labor Board in the case of the maintenance of waymen, appealing against a cut of their husbands' wages could tell something of the reason for this revolt. With their children in their arms, they had asked that the less-than-living wage which their husbands received should at least be left at what it was. But the Board saw fit to think in terms of railroads instead of terms of men. It placed 100,000 men on $1.64 per day. This is the enviable condition of the American workers of which Mr. Coolidge is so proud.

Mr. Edgerton's "Menace"

The textile workers of the East and South could supply an answer, also. Mr. John Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, only the other day described LaFollette in lurid terms to a convention of bankers, as "a menace to the country." Well may Mr. Edgerton look on Mr. LaFollette as a menace—to the southern mill owners, of whom Mr. Edgerton is one. Well may he tremble lest their child workers be taken from them, and living wages be established in the peonage mills of the South. In his own mills at Lebanon, Tennessee, a new deal is in order; and the child labor amendment, which LaFollette has so long championed, would bring that new deal to pass.

These are only two small snapshots of the series of abuses which the Monopoly Power and its servants have imposed on the workers and farmers. This movement is deep-rooted, down among the rank and file of the people—and it has come to stay. Nor will it spend itself until the Monopoly Power is crushed and in chains.

Our job now is to strike a real blow by registering, voting and seeing that the vote is counted. On July 4th, as John Frey points out, the National Association of Manufacturers issued an appeal to all its members and to the members of its 300 affiliated organizations, urging them to get out the employers' vote. This bitter enemy of the Labor Movement has already issued 6,000,000 copies of its "Get out the Vote" pamphlet. Those who are fighting for freedom must be no less on the job. In every state, we must pull—to see that our brothers and friends register and vote. We must offer our services as watchers for the progressive cause—in order that our own moral victory, now assured, may not turn out to be an immoral victory for our enemies. Every worker has this small task on his conscience—in order that the Liberty Bell may become the emblem of our country instead of the unspeakable Teapot.

His Majesty's Government

A Word or Two on British Labor's Rise to Power

By MAURICE H. DOBB

As we American workers go into our first contest for the democratic capture of our Government, British Labor faces another test of strength.

You and I can be confident of the result over there as well as over here. We are building a great, permanent movement of emancipation. They have already laid the foundations.

This sketch, written while MacDonald was firmly at the helm, is worth while mulling over, on this side of the sea. It shows how Victory finally comes—to causes spat upon, and looked upon in their beginnings as heretical and dangerous. It gives one inkling of how Victory shall come, permanently, to the American workers and farmers in their struggle upward.

IT is a very strange thing. The men whom three years ago the Press and one's average companion in the train or omnibus were denouncing in the most vindictive terms, have now taken their places as the Ministers of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain. Three years ago no epithet was too loathsome or displeasing for Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden—the pacifist pro-Germans, coward traitors who would help any country but their own. Now Mr. MacDonald has stepped into the place where Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Baldwin formerly stood; he is photographed and filmed for every cinema and picture paper at "Chequers,"* while Miss MacDonald is eagerly interviewed, saying that she finds No. 10 Downing Street† "pleasant, but rather complicated."

The Railway Strike of 1919, led by Mr. J. H. Thomas, secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, was denounced by Mr. Lloyd George's Government as "an anarchist conspiracy against the nation." Now Mr. Thomas, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, is feted at banquets and dinners, where he is photographed side by side with the Prince of Wales, and is looked to by middle class folk with a sigh of relief as one of the "moderate" and "sane" elements in the new government. General (now Lord) C. B. Thomson, who at Cambridge three years ago was howled down by students for a "Bolshevik," is now pointed to by the more Conservative newspapers as one of the three or four "saving" appointments in the new Cabinet, lending it the necessary link with tradition and the requisite "respectability."

Timid small investors and maiden ladies of independent means, who a few weeks ago suffered nightmares of catastrophic ruin and blood running in the street, now find the new Government so much more harmless than they thought and their personalities so much less brutal and ruffianly than they expected, that they are inclined even to be a little proud of Britain's first labor government; and to feel in their petty insularity which they call patriotism, that, just as other things British are ever superior, so even British labor is somehow *different*. And it is precisely here that there lies, perhaps, the greatest danger to the Labor Government, that, fearing to offend these timid investors and maiden ladies of independent means they may shrink from taking any action that shall be courageous or specifically new. The cautious impotence of age may triumph over the courage and creativeness of youth. If this danger is true British history may yet give another illustration of the adage: "*Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose.*"

Before the War

In a country which has experienced one revolution and heard the rumblings of another and has faced starvation and invasion in the six years since the war, such a change of opinion as this may seem a trifle scarce worthy of mention. But in Britain, the birthplace of modern capitalism and home of liberalism, which has not witnessed a revolution since the 17th century, it is very different. Before the war the Labour Party as a political force was practically negligible. Its representation in Parliament was under 50. Immediately after the war the position was not very different; it managed to secure only 62 seats at the General Election. Many of its members were tarred with the brush of "pacifism." They were suspected and in some cases known to be unwilling to "Hang the Kaiser" and to "Make Germany Pay." Moreover, Britain, in the main because of her insular position, was of all belligerents except the United States least affected by the war. After a temporary period of idealism, of aspirations for a "new world" and "all classes pulling together," which faded with the spring of 1919, the majority of Englishmen settled themselves down again to 1914

habits, 1914 standards, and 1914 methods of life. The business man looked to his balance sheets and sniffed the commercial atmosphere. The politician turned to his party cries and his vulgar intrigues and ambitions. The learned turned to their dusty tomes and the search for pure knowledge. And the average man smacked his lips once more at his wine and beer and the sporting page of his newspaper, and declared with a slap of the thigh that the future of the world lay in the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. The arrival of a Labour Government came, therefore, as a very profound shock indeed. It caused the average man to drop his beer mug or his wine glass so that it clattered: the future of the world began to seem to him a little less simple than he had supposed.

An understanding of the issues raised by the occurrence of a Labour Government in Britain cannot be obtained unless one grasps one fundamentally important thing. The Labour Party is not essentially a Socialist Party; it was not born in a union of Socialist principles. It is a Party of the Trade Unions, which happens to have included in its program certain points of policy of a somewhat Socialist character. Nor are the Trade Unions, as in Germany, mainly Socialist creations. The first Trade Unions—the craft unions of the more skilled workers, like those of engineers and bricklayers—were built up in the middle of the last century under the influence of working men, whose social philosophy was essentially the individualist radical philosophy of Bentham. They were ardent admirers of Bright and Gladstone. Their political economy they took from the orthodox—Adam Smith and his disciples and James and John Stuart Mill. Their outlook and aims were essentially conservative and their methods were those of the gilds of the middle ages. They attempted to improve their position by the monopolist advantage of restricted supply, secured through restrictions on apprentices, limited entry to the trade, rigid demarcation of work. They were in the main Friendly Societies, chiefly concerned with administering various insurance funds. Even when towards the end of the century unskilled workers began to organize, their aims were limited to a few measures of wage-reform; and these unions also quickly became big institutions administering friendly benefit funds, and dominated by a regular paid officialdom, grown routine-bound, out of touch with the rank and file, and cautious and conservative in outlook. It was a series of decisions in the courts endangering the legal position of Trade Unions, which prompted them to take political action and to form the Labour Representative Commission in 1900. Its primary object was to fight for Trade Union rights in Parliament. This body later became the Labor Party. The Labor Party is in origin therefore the political wing of the trade unions, mainly representing the officialdom of these cities.

Where the "Intellectuals" Came In

It was upon this material that the small groups of English Socialists attempted to work. The two chief Socialist organizations at this time were the Fabian Society and the Independent Labor Party (known as the I. L. P.). The Fabian Society, founded in 1883, was mainly a body of intellectuals, small in numbers but influential through its printed word, especially among the middle class. This body was not Marxian. The doctrines of Marx before the war carried influence in England only among a few:‡ the only organization before 1900 which propagated his teachings was a small doctrinaire body, the Social Democratic Federation, possessed of little influence and lacking contact with political life. The Fabian Society, moreover, never regarded its Socialism as specifically working class. The essence of its doctrine was merely the substitution of collective control by the state over industry for control by individual capitalists under a regime of *laissez-faire.* Socialism in England consequently came to be regarded as State ism, as contrasted with Individualism. This change would dispense with the waste and inefficiency of individual enterprise, it was urged, and would enable the worse evils of industrialism, such as poverty and unemployment, to be remedied scientifically.

This social philosophy found brilliant expression in 1889 in The Fabian Essays from the pens of Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. Bernard Shaw, Sir Sydney Olivier, Mrs. Besant and Mr. Graham Wallas among others. These essays with their persuasive charm and disarming moderation still contain to-day the essence of English Socialism.

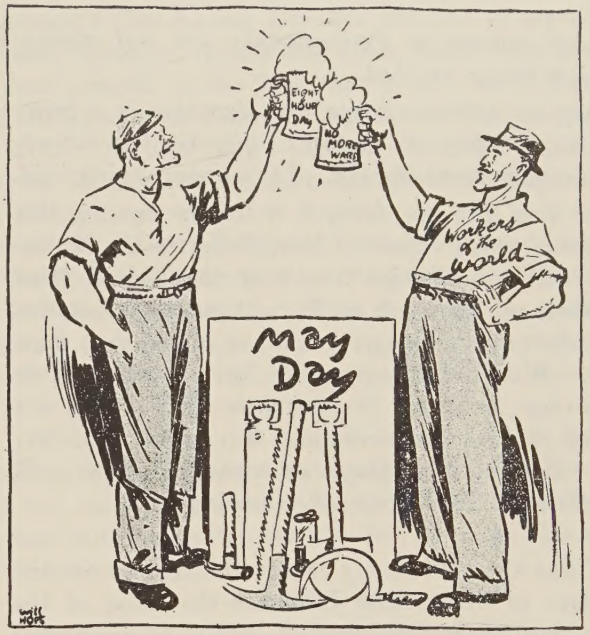
Sons of Keir Hardie

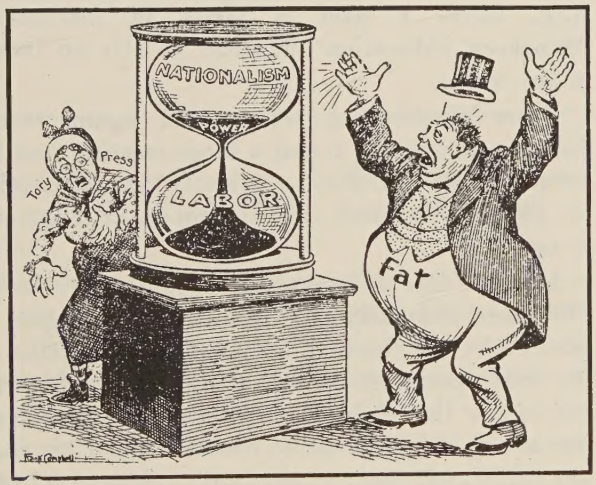
The Independent Labor Party, which was established ten years after the Fabian Society, was more definitely working class, and was designed to make a wide propagandist appeal among the masses of the workers. Its immediate aim was to secure labor representation in Parliament, independent of the Liberal and Conservative Parties, in order to fight for social reforms in the workers' interests. For an intellectual armory it was content to borrow from the Fabians. Accordingly it had not a theory of the class struggle, but began to rely more and more on the intervention of the existing State to raise the position of the workers. Chief figure of this movement was the great-souled, brave-hearted son of the

THE TALE IN PICTURES

DEAD men tell no tales. But live pictures do. The cartoon on the right—from the last May Day edition of the London Daily Herald*—gives the spirit of the British workers. It is this spirit which has carried them along thus far, to a new power and a new vision of their own possibilities. British Labor is not merely British, it is also international. Pragmatic in action to a fault, it is based on the ideal purpose of winning the world for the workers of the world.*

Whatever the outcome of October 29th, the future is in its hands. Economic forces are driving in that direction. Its task, as with the workers everywhere, is to be prepared for the full burden of leadership and control.





HERE we have with us another view—taken from the Austrian Worker. *There has Labor likewise begun again to come into its own. Recovering from the Reaction of the War, Australian Labor has captured province after province of the Island Continent.*

Power is slipping from the Monopoly Interests into the hands of Labor in all English-speaking countries. This U. S. A. will be no exception. We are on the eve of the Great Turnover—so far as political power is concerned.

workers of Keir Hardie whom everybody loved, and whose spirit remained to the end undimmed and eternally young. Associated with him in those early days was the present Prime Minister, Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald. It is interesting that both of these men should have been Scotchmen.

By a policy of "permeation" these two Socialist parties tried to secure influence in the Labor Party. By steady propaganda in the Trade Unions and by untiring "lobbying" of Trade Union officials they gradually secured their aim. In 1918 the constitution of the Labor Party was altered so as to make of a capital levy to repay the war debt and by taxation of surplus riches for the benefit of the poor. In 1922 Mr. MacDonald was appointed leader of the Labor Party in Parliament, while Mr. Webb was elected chairman of the National Labor Party; the triumph of the I. L. P. and the Fabians was achieved. But with all these changes the Labor Party remains a party of the trade unions: the votes of the big trade unions constitute an overwhelming majority of the votes of the national conference, and the deciding voice in its policy is still that of cautious and conservative umbrella-carrying, bowler-hatted trade union officials.

Studying Coal

By PAUL W. FULLER

Those miners in Pennsylvania are not asleep. You can wager on that.

They are taking up workers education in a practical way.. They are trying to grip the facts in regard to their own industry.. They are studying coal.

The way they are doing it is told in part by this extract from the report of Paul Fuller to the Executive Board of District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, on the work he has set out to do, under their direction. Progress with a big P has been made. Workers' Chautauquas have sprung up in the mining country.. Discussion is alive. They are talking coal as well as digging it. Sooner or later, they will learn that they can manage coal as well as talk it. That's what we're coming to!

IT has always been my theory that it was not the lack of brains that has been the cause of the suppression of the workers. Lack of knowledge to use their brains is the key. A slave is satisfied because he knows no better. The modern worker is afraid to show his dissatisfaction, even though conditions prove that he could not be satisfied when he does not get enough food, clothing and shelter for himself and family.

To-day he is coming to the realization that something is wrong in his life and that his chances of getting a living are growing worse instead of better. Economic determinism is forcing him into a thirst for knowledge so that he can better his conditions.

With the weapon of Workers' Education in defense of its rights and the support of its progress Labor will go far toward becoming free. Workers' Education reaches out for facts and the meaning of those facts, with the idea of bringing about a reconstruction of the workers life—in order that he might enjoy the full measure of his labor.

It is with this knowledge, and the assurance that whatsoever is of good report will have a full measure of the United Mine Workers' co-operation, that I recently accepted the appointment as Director of Education of District No. 2. The task upon me is to present to the miners and their families the meaning of Workers' Education.

While I had my own idea as to how and what the miner needed in the way of knowledge, I realized that there had been a number of other industries and individuals engaged in the same work for some time. In order to equip myself more efficiently, I knew it would be to our advantage for me to visit and carefully study their work. Thus we would avoid what might be useless experimenting, with a loss of time and expense.

This study took me to Harrisburg, Washington, Baltimore and Brookwood. Out of it I could see that the miner's problem was a peculiar one in itself.

On my return from Harrisburg I spoke to a splendid gathering in Johnstown on "The Value of Political Action by Labor," at the same time showing the need of education among the workers. It was well received and since I have received a number of inquiries relative to taking up the work in that vicinity.

From Johnstown I went to Defiance and Six Mile Run, where I gave a series of lectures on "Workers' Education" in order to stir up interest in the work.

From Washington, later on, I again went to Johnstown, where I found a large meeting had been arranged for me. The boys wanted me to speak on the political situation in Washington, as it appeared to me.

At this time I began the actual field work of "Workers' Education." The Broad Top region was selected. Over there, I felt, due to the strike and the wide spread of unemployment, would be fertile soil to sow the seeds of education. The cancer that was eating the very life of the miner and his family was COAL. A study of the coal problem would hold their interest more than any other subject. So I began organizing classes and taking up the subject "Nationalization of Mines." As text books for that work, I used, "Why the Miners Program?", "Com. Information in Coal," "The Government of Coal," and "How to Run Coal."

I stirred up interest in the work by delivering a public lecture in each of the following towns: Coalmont, Dudley, Hopewell, Broad Top City, Finleyville, Robertsdale, Langondale and Defiance. The attendance at each of these meetings averaged from 80 to 150 people. At the close of each lecture I solicited pupils for classes. All who were interested gave me their names and addresses. I concluded this series of meetings with a rousing meeting in Wash-

THE LABOR AGE CONTRIBUTION

To Our Subscribers:

NOT the least of the effective educational movements that Labor Age *has assisted to set on foot has been the campaign of LaFollette and Wheeler. Before any other publication had sized up the national situation,* Labor Age *had pointed to the fact that a new lineup was necessary in American political history, and that 1924 would see this new alignment. Before any other publication, it also pointed to the fact that Robert M. LaFollette was the man who should lead this new movement. It kept consistently at this idea, until LaFollette accepted the nomination—and the new fight for liberty in America got under weigh.*

During this campaign, this magazine has made the biggest contribution it could to the Movement. It has loaned its managing editor to the New Jersey Conference for Progressive Political Action, to act as State Secretary of the LaFollette-Wheeler Committee there, in order to make the fight in New Jersey effective. It did this, because he was drafted by the progressive forces in that state, as being able to deal with all of the different groups which came in to the Movement in such a rapid and encouraging manner.

That is why there was no September number. All our forces and resources were put at the disposal of the LaFollette-Wheeler campaign. Labor Age *is essentially a magazine of action, and the job it has done in this respect has been the most helpful contribution it could make. We are sure our subscribers will agree with us, and assist us, after the election, to make this a constantly growing force for the welfare of the American producers.*

James H. Maurer,
Pres. Labor Publication Society

ington Park, Six Mile Run, Sunday afternoon June 15th, with Dr. Hogue, Chas. Kutz and myself as speakers.

Then began the actual organization of the classes. The first was at Six Mile Run. It totaled 11 members. The class selected a Chairman and Secretary, after which I explained the purpose of Workers' Education and the method of teaching.

For the first lesson we used "The Worn-out Policy." It was surprising to me how little the miners have thought of a reorganization of the industry, but before the first session was dismissed it was unanimously agreed that the old policy was worn out and a new one was necessary. The interest manifested was such that they requested morning and afternoon sessions due to the fact, of course, of being unemployed. We used the same method at Dudley where we got a class of 26 members; Broad Top City 20; Robertsdale 8; Langondale 23; Hopewell 5 and Coalmont 15. In all classes they display an unusual interest in the work and especially at Dudley the interest was so great that after a session of 3 or more hours which had run far into the night it was difficult to dismiss them. In other words, I have a total of 7 classes with an enrollment of 108 pupils.

On Sunday, June 29th, at 2:30 p. m., I held a public mass meeting in the Community Hall in Dudley. Delivered a lecture on the necessity of Nationalization. The meeting was well attended and considerable interest manifested.

On a whole I am more than pleased with the manner that the workers have taken to the work. While it is to be expected that some will lose interest and drop away, yet there are a great many who seem to realize what it means to themselves and families.

In the beginning the work of arousing interest was difficult, due to the lack of interest by most of the officers of the local unions. After having sent a circular letter to the secretaries from Clearfield, they took very little interest in the work. They all seemed to be suspicious that something was back of the movement and were unwilling to assist in the work. Our success was largely due to the unsolicited interest and work of John Taylor, of Six Mile Run, who personally made a canvass of the Broad Top and arranged the first meetings of interest and then followed up by helping to actually organize the classes. But that lack of interest by the Local Unions has been swept away. They now realize the only purpose of the work is to educate the rank and file.

More About "Education With a Punch"

By MARK STARR

"Don't be naughty," says the sedate Workers Education Association of Great Britain to the Plebs League.

"But we will be naughty," answers the League. "It is only naughty folks who do anything."

The "bad manners" of the Plebs consist of a snappy method of handing out workers education and the accusation that they are dogmatic. But Mark Starr declares that their dogmatism is merely the demand that workers education be of, by and for the workers. And he proceeds to prove it herewith.

THE descriptive article about the work of the National Council of Labour Colleges in Britain (published in April LABOR AGE) needs to be supplemented by an explanation of its principles. Thus the rapidly developing educational work of the W. E. B. in America can benefit to the fullest extent from our experience on the British side of the herring pond. Some of the references to the N. C. L. C. made in the LABOR AGE certainly show the need for a clearer understanding.

Nothing is easier than to repeat that we stand for a "training in Marxian dogmas"; for "authority" as against "reason" or to quote some jawbreaker phrase out of our word-fond comrades, E. & C. Paul's PROLETCULT. But you can't get away with such charges based only upon phrases and not upon facts. It will be best to shake these tags and bogey words and see if there is anything real concealed in them.

To be dogmatic is apparently the great evil which education must avoid. Yet we are all dogmatic about many things—just as life itself is. Anyway I have the settled opinion that I am writing this article and that I am dogmatically alive. Must labor education have no principles or doctrine, laid down with the authority of the facts of Labor's life and experience? Must it be uncertain of everything, and understudy Dryden's "Zimri?" Should education be made into mysterious mental gymnastics—hunting in a dark room for a black hat which is not there? Of course not; and the very people who make such charges themselves dogmatize on the evils of dogmatism; they are not impartial to partiality.

A Sad Picture—If True!

The caricature of an N. C. L. C. teacher jamming dogmas down his student-victim's throat does but illustrate the cartoonist's imagination. Surely it is obvious that such a process would defeat itself. We are in perfect agreement with those who are improving teaching *methods* and who would make the teacher but the attendant to the opening flower. But the sloppy and superficial notion that the teacher should not *teach*, or have any aim or purpose, is absurd.

Then there is the false antithesis made between *propaganda* and *education*. Propaganda cannot but be educational even if incomplete; education always propagands, consciously or unconsciously, a certain point of view. As Comrade Muste has suggested, only the Labor Movement dare turn a blazing searchlight into every nook and cranny of our present social system and a true statement of the facts of Social History and Economics is perforce both propaganda and education for the workers. In the state schools and history books there is a "judicious" selection of facts which is propaganda for keeping things as they are. Why "drum and trumpet history" about kings and queens and armies? Why do photos of famous generals and battles hang upon the walls? Why are British kiddies told that Drake was a pioneer of Empire, but never that he was also a "privateer"; that Fergus O'Connor the Chartist leader, ended his days in an asylum, but not that 50,000 London workmen thought him worthy of following to his grave? Books could be filled with example after example of how facts are selected to inculcate a suicidal Imperialism. The Labor College Movement starts from the settled opinion—dogma—if you like—that elementary schooling has to be supplemented because of its neglect of Labor organizations, and its dangerous bias has to be corrected by a bias in favor of truth and scientific investigation.

Knitting vs. Social Science

There are four main points of difference between ourselves and the Workers' Education Association. The N. C. L. C. specializes in the Social Sciences, while the W. E. A. will provide classes in knitting or bookkeeping or anything "that the public wants." And this while the workers are suffering from decades of miseducation and centuries of servile traditions, and are now facing Sphinx-like social questions! In our classes we study literature as a mirror of social life, and playreadings are enjoyed at our

special schools; but to advocate that the workers, as individuals, should find fascinating hobbies for their leisure hours in natural science and the arts is "fiddling while Rome is burning" with a vengeance.

Another point of difference is that the W. E. A. looks upon the Universities as *the* fountains of learning. We think they are in Social Science polluted fountains. They send to Parliament mugwumps of the first order. Certain "left" elements in the W. E. A., notably G. D. H. Cole, have denounced the "slovenly methods" of University teaching and recognized that W. E. A. classes stand in danger of the "University person" who is out to augment his salary. The fact that a growing minority of University teachers sympathize with Labor is not proof that these institutions are truthworthy sources of lecturers and leaders.

W. E. A.—"Cap in Hand"

The financial and moral support given by the capitalist State, capitalist-controlled Universities and individual capitalists to the W. E. A. is another distinguishing feature. The Highway (Aug., 1920), official organ of the W. E. A., reported that the Fund established by Sir Ernest Cassel had made a grant to the W. E. A. for five years to run specific schemes of work. The W. E. A. has recently gone "cap in hand" to the Carnegie Trust Fund for help in the issuing of books. Before me is a pile of capitalist press cuttings from 1908 onwards which repeatedly praise the W. E. A. as the antidote to "industrial unrest," and denounce the Labor College Movement as the cause of it. In June last, there was a renewed press attack against the N. C. L. C. by the Stunt Press, while the capitalist Liverpool Echo with other similar journals has been advising the Trades Union Congress to work with the W. E. A.

It is true that many Trade Unions support the W. E. A. on paper, but that is often only a gesture of indiscriminate appreciation for anything calling itself by that blessed name *Education.* And it is only a question of time until the W. E. A. will cease to receive compliments from the capitalists and cash from the workers simultaneously.

Mr. Greenwood asks "Why then should the education of the workers be expected to be self-supporting?" For the very same reason that industrial and political activity of the workers must be self-supporting or be a complete farce. Not until Labor is completely in power shall we be able to treat the community as one, and the State as a workers' instrument for education.

"Yes and No"

The fourth difference is in the viewpoint adopted

> *"EDUCATION with a punch" and Education via the W. E. A. will have it out between them, as long as workers' education goes on in England—until one of them wins out.*
>
> *And here is the reason, quoting the* Plebs Magazine, *organ of the National Labor Colleges:*
>
> *"The two opposing principles in the sphere of workers' education, represented in this country by the W. E. A. on the one hand, and the Labour Colleges on the other, are, as we pointed out last month, simply this:—The W. E. A. stands for extension of ordinary education (i. e., ruling-class education) to workers; the Labour Colleges stand for the development of specifically working-class education with working-class aims, and under working-class control. The W. E. A. stands for co-operation between the workers' own organizations and the educational institutions owned and controlled by the master-class; it wants the workers to have more of the kind of education provided by such institutions. The slogan of the Labour Colleges is 'Not more, but different'; and they assert that the workers will never get the education they need from the class against whom they are organized politically and industrially."*

—the W. E. A. professes to be impartial while the N. C. L. C. believes in *independence,* and has the confessed objective of improving the efficiency of the workers' organizations.

The ideal W. E. A. lecturer, if asked which way the wind is blowing, should be able to make out a good case for it blowing in all directions at once. If asked whether the workers are exploited, he should answer yes *and* no. In practice, while there are in the W. E. A. many teachers, who teach the facts about Social Science (which perforce are propaganda for the workers) there are others who, to my knowledge, have maintained that every worker with pots of jam in the store-cupboard is a capitalist; that trade union restrictions on piecework are harmful; and that it is a fallacy that Labor alone creates value. They decry Marx only to adopt Marshall and popularizations of him.

Let the W. E. B. avoid the confusionism which has hampered the educational movement here in Britain. It is easier to "put out" our education like the washing, but in the end only the harder road of independence will lead to the goal of a freed working-class.

Killing the Geese

That Lay Those Black Eggs

By ISRAEL MUFSON

THREE hundred and ninety-four strong, healthy, able-bodied supporters of families were killed in the mining industry in the first four months of 1924. Five tremendous mine disasters since the beginning of the year has again brought the ever present question of mine safety to the attention of the public.

January recorded two explosions, one at Shanktown, Pa., with a death list of 36, and one at Johnston City, Ill., with 32 casualties. February gave its contribution of 42 victims at Crosby, Minn., where the miners lost their lives when the bottom of a small lake fell out, flooding the mine underneath. March 8th witnessed a terrific loss of life at Castle Gate, Utah, where 172 were killed and in April 112 miners died in an explosion at Benwood, Va.

Perhaps cold, unadorned figures do not impress themselves very deeply upon our minds. Perhaps the killing of 172 men at one time and of 112 at another, "as we read them in the papers, are mere figures to us. They have no human meaning. But if we could stand at the mouth of the mine upon its reopening after an explosion and behold the seemingly endless column of charred bodies borne hour after hour to the surface; if we could witness the long line of hearses on the way to the hillside burial ground; if we could hear the heartbreaking sobs of stricken widows mingled with the pitiful wails of little children bereft of their fathers; if we could go in the days that follow to the bare homes deprived of their breadwinners, we could then perhaps, begin to appreciate the loss." (John Randolph Haynes in Senate Document No. 265.)

The casualty lists from mine disasters read like reports from the battle fields and the similarity between the two is more real than we would like to think. There is this difference, however. To the miner the coal mine is more deadly than the battlefield. 25,000 miners were killed in the past ten years. 28,800 men are seriously injured annually in Pennsylvania mines alone. On the battle field, the game is to kill or to be killed. Those who escape are the lucky ones whom fate has kindly taken under her protecting wing. In industry, fate should not be the sole protection to the men who are participating in the work of the world so necessary for the existence of our whole social structure. No portion of workers, so engaged, should be called upon to assume the hazards which up to the present have been the miners' lot.

We are proud of our industrial efficiency and superior machine development. Yet when it comes to the efficiency of saving lives we either do not count this in the cost of our industrial achievement or we do not care enough to take pride in the conservation of human lives. In the United States we kill three times as many miners as they do in Great Britain.

FATALITIES RATE PER 100 WORKERS

Year	*United Kingdom*	*United States*	*Ratio*
1919.....	.94	3.03	3.22
1920.....	.88	2.92	3.32
1921.....	.66	2.42	3.67

If there were no way to remedy the situation there would be some excuse for throwing up one's hands in fatalistic abandon. But there are remedies, which if adopted, would prevent the inexcusable sacrifice of lives. Mr. John B. Andrews, secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, believes that two-thirds of the mine accidents could be averted if universal safety methods were adopted.

"I believe it is a reasonable statement," he says, "that two-thirds of the fatal and serious accidents at the bituminous coal mines of this country could be prevented by the universal adoption of safety methods already in successful operation at some of the mines of this country or in Great Britain. As a result of practical experience with safety legislation during fifteen years, and through our own recent studies of this subject in Europe and America, our Association has gradually drawn up, from the public point of view, a suggestive program for prevention."

The three deadly dangers in every coal mine are open lights, accumulation of gas and coal dust. Open lights can be eliminated readily in so far as miners' lamps are concerned. But, with electrical machinery being used in every mine, the possibilities of sparks are ever present. The mines can be kept free from gas by adequate ventilation. Coal dust, however, seems to be the chief cause of explosions which cannot easily be eliminated, if at all. There seems to be no way of keeping the mines free from this dust. The alternative is to make it harmless. One method is to keep the exposed surfaces of the mine thoroughly saturated with water. Practically,

however, this method is very difficult of accomplishment. The water quickly evaporates, especially in the winter time when the dry, cool air is forced into the mine. One explosion will immediately dry up the mine within a large radius, leaving the way open for the flames to spread to every part of the mine, and causing a series of explosions.

Another method of dealing with coal dust is the use of shale dust. Shale is found in layers on top of the coal in every mine. The shale is removed and ground into powder and then sprinkled over the mine surface. The shale dust is non-inflammable and will restrict the flames to a small area. The flames, not finding anything to feed on, will die down in a very short while, permitting immediate rescue work and preventing the disaster to spread to the whole mine. E. J. Jones, safety engineer of Old Ben Coal Corporation has experimented with shale dust and has found it a sure preventitive in every case when an explosion took place.

The United States Government, through its Bureau of Mines, whose director is H. Foster Bain, is taking an active part in accident prevention and life saving. It conducts campaigns of education in first aid work and in attention to safety. 100,000 men have taken the Bureau's course and have received certificates. The regular training is supplemented by contest in field manoeuvers held in co-operation with the Red Cross, the Mine Operator's Association, the United Mine Workers of America and other agencies. But these are all means of making rescue work quicker and more effective and to lessen the fatal results of accidents. What is needed is more attention to the prevention of accidents. In this work the Bureau and those immediately interested in the problem are hampered by the varying laws in the various states, some of which are absolutely out of date.

Up until 1869 there were no special safety laws for the coal mining industry. Pennsylvania and Ohio were the first to establish special codes and they were based on the coal mine laws of Great Britain which were passed in 1850 and 1872. Most of the States having mine safety laws based theirs on the same pattern and many of these laws have not been changed for years. Furthermore, the laws vary so between the different states that it is impossible to maintain an adequate standard for safety.

Many states have not enough state inspectors. In one state they will be paid $1,800 a year and in another $4,800. Some of the inspectors are called upon to pass examinations, while others are appointed by officials. Still others are elected by popular vote! Some have to cover a territory producing 810,000 tons annually. Others cover a territory producing 5,800,000 tons annually. Naturally, the grades and kinds of men engaged in mine inspection and the size of the territories they have to cover have much to do with their capacity to handle their jobs and whether there will be few small accidents or many large ones.

What every one who has studied this question is agreed on is that there should be a central governmental agency responsible for the safety of the mines. This agency should create a safety code to be applied uniformly throughout the United States. This sort of an agency is recommended both by E. A. Holbrook, Dean, School of Mines, Pennsylvania State College and by Van A. Bittner, International Representative, United Mine Workers of America.

The American Association for Labor Legislation, an organization given over specifically to such matters, has six points for recommendation, whose adoption, it thinks, will make the mine safe for the miner. These six points follow:

1. The adoption of uniform legal minimum standards of safety.

2. The use underground of no explosive that is not, after scientific investigation, numbered among the "permissibles"; the strictly limitation of "shooting off the solid," and the use of shale or approved rock dust to check the spread of coal dust explosions.

3. Reward careful employers and penalize the less scrupulous by the universal adoption of schedule rating for insurance under accident compensation laws with a further graduated penalty for cases of wilful failure to put into effect legal safety regulations.

4. An adequate mine inspection staff selected upon a merit basis of training and experience, fairly paid, for reasonable long term of office and protected from partisan interference, whether political or industrial.

5. Greater public authority, federal and state, to procure and disseminate information, and to establish and maintain on a uniform basis, reasonable minimum standards of safety.

Life is precious—the life of the miner no less than that of anyone else. We must put a stop to this crime. We must do something real about it.

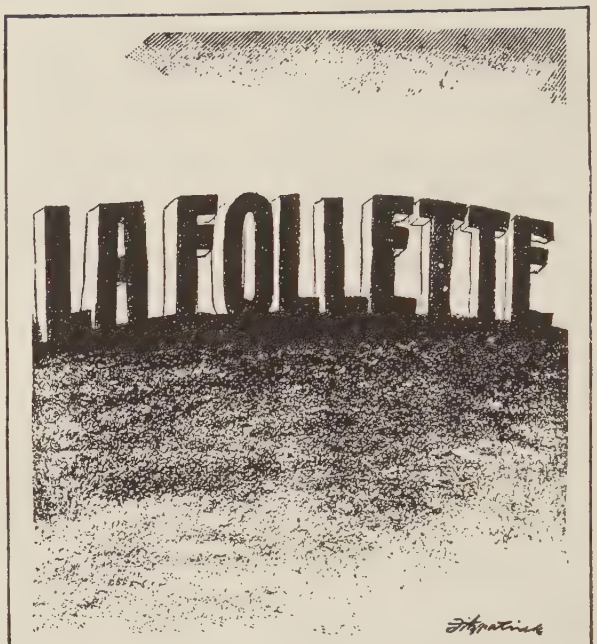
The Employing Interests have looked too long on the coal diggers as geese who brought black eggs to the surface, to be turned into gold. Towring the necks of these geese, through carelessness mine accidents, was all in the day's play for them. They will not end these murders. The workers themselves must do it.

A NEW DEAL APPROACHETH

WELL, it's here. The new lineup in American political and economic life. Bob La Follette has come into the arena, to found a new, permanent political movement of the producers. The West is aflame—"a prairie fire," Dawes calls it.

All the oppressed groups, attacked by the present Monopoly System, have rallied around the man who fought for them in their hour of need. The time-serving politicians have been taken by surprise. They cannot understand, anymore than they could understand back in 1860—anymore than the Bourbons could understand, or George III himself.

The Sky-Line West of New York is a La Follette Sky-Line.



THE SKY-LINE WEST OF NEW YORK
—Fitzpatrick in the St. Loui

BITTER SWEET
—James in the St. Louis *Star.*

HAVE you ever heard about Sugar? It is as sour as our bread. The profiteers have fouled it.

Bob La Follette, as usual, arose in the Senate a few months ago to demand that President Coolidge give facts on Sugar to the American people. Mr. Coolidge had these facts. He took them with him to Vermont. He decided that it was not wise for the people to see them. They would have shown up the beautiful hypocrisy of Herbert Hoover, friend of the Sugar Combine. They would have revealed Senator Reed Smoot, Coolidge's backer, in the role of a sneak-thief for the Sugar Trust.

This is one small reason for the new American Political Sky-Line.

Klalvin Kloolidge, Klandidate

A Glance Into an Aching Void—And a Howling Wilderness

From the LABOR PRESS

STOP! LOOK! LISTEN!

BELOW we present, for the information of our readers the constructive record of one Calvin Coolidge, alias Andrew Mellon. Can you find it?

OF ALL things uttered by tongue or pen, the lowest of them all is—the calling of meaningless names.

Of all the fools who have donned the cap and bells in American public life, and exhibited the sterility of their intellect by hurling foul epithets in the air, Charles "G. D." Dawes is by far the most finished product.

"General" he is called, though the only powder he has ever faced is talcum powder. "Settler of Europe's affairs" he has also been termed, though he merely served as the pawn of the international banking combine to cram down the unwilling Germans' throats that which they had to accept. "Business man and banker is his further title, though his business record hits its high spot in his unhealthy deal with "Billy" Lorimer.

To this papier mache leader are we warmly indebted for setting forth, in vivid terms, the issue of the presidential campaign of 1924. "La Follette" is the danger, "La Follette" is the issue! All through the country has gone the startled cry of Dawes, a cry of fear lest the light comes in upon the further corruption of official Washington. It is "Fighting Bob" and his fighting partner that the thieves in high places dream of at night, and it is their alarm which Dawes utters in open day. Argument, of course, he has none. In place of that, he damns and sputters and shouts hoarsely at the "mob."

Senator Lynn Frazier, former Senator from North Dakota, tells a little story that fits in well here, showing why the "mob" is so much to be dreaded by the gallant General. Two men were discussing in Washington some months ago the best possibilities for the job of running for President. They were hard put to it, to find men in public life not covered with some sort of corrupt filth. When one of them had an inspiration. It was Henry Ford.

"No, no," replied the other. "Ford will not do. He would make a garage of the White House."
"It's only an oil station now."

The oil station Mr. Dawes does not want us to see —nor the Sugar Combine's grip on that arch-hypocrite Herbert Hoover— nor the maggots eating out the Treasury Department under Andrew Mellon. Therefore, his lusty shouts of fear and rage.

And there are other reasons. To uneasy conscience is added the growth and power of the rising farmer and labor political movement. Even in the "effete East" has it shown unexpected strength. "The La Follette Snowball Grows," declares the Oklahoma Leader. Grows, and grows, and grows. "Is it any wonder, that paper adds, "that Senator Moses arrived at the White House last week and urged Coolidge to center the fight on La Follette? La Follette himself, speaking before a group of labor leaders declared that where he formerly hoped to carry about eight states and throw the election into congress he believes that 'as things stand today we have an absolutely even break to win.' "

How could it be otherwise? Never was Labor so united in a fight to capture the Government; because never had Labor presented to it by any major political group such a program for emancipation and candidates of such power and courage. Never were there so many oppressed groups joined together in America for one cause; because never have these groups had so consistent a champion as Bob La Follette. All of them have been stoned by the Pharisees in the Temple—and he alone stood by

them. Then, deeper than all, economic conditions demand a turnover in our national life. Victor Berger puts the thing well in the MILWAUKEE LEADER. We quote:

"But these opportunities" (of the pioneer days) "do no longer exist. There is no more good land left that may be gotten for a nominal price. You cannot repeat that. There is no other Wisconsin. There is no other Minnesota. There is not even another Iowa or Kansas. Conditions have changed. There is no 'frontier' in our country left any more. The chances we had 100 years ago, or even 40 years ago, to become independent are not here today.

"America has ceased to be a 'colonial country.' And economic conditions are becoming harder every day. That will necessarily mean a radical political party here, just as in every civilized country."

SH!

WE stood on the bridge at midnight. Says he: "Have you heard of this here shell-shocked Republican Ticket: a deaf and dumb man and an insane man, shouting mad—running together?".

Says I: I have."

Says he: "Well, that's right, ain't it?"

Says he: "No, it's wrong. The ticket is really Mellon and Lorimer. But keep this in the dark."

And we did.

The READING LABOR ADVOCATE quotes the OSHKOSH NORTHWESTERNER in testimony of the same state of affairs. The great increase in farm tenancy is its text, and this is what it says: "Federal census statistics disclose that during the past half-century there has been a steady increase in the percentage of farm tenancy in this country. In other words, the number of farms occupied and worked by actual owners gradually is declining, while that of farms occupied by renters is correspondingly increasing. Thus in 1880 the percentage of owners was 74. 4 and of tenants 25. 6; in 1890 the figures were, owners 71. 6, tenants, 28. 4; in 1900, owners, 64. 7, tenants 53. 3; in 1910, owners, 63, tenants 37; and in 1920, owners 61. 9 and the tenants 38. 1. Today the owners probably are less than 60 and the tenants more than 40 per cent. Thus 45 years have seen the proportion between owners and tenants change from three-fourths and one-fourth to three-fifths and two fifths. And the prospect is that the next generation will see the division "fifty-fifty," with half of the farms of America occupied by tenant farmers."

So there you are. "Unhealthy" is the proper name for the way things are going. The farmers are not the only ones hit. You and I know that. The workers in the mines and mills are also feeling the blessings of "prosperity." Listen to this little tale from the UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL——*a* perhaps unexpected story:

"Never in its history has the United Mine Workers of America been faced with such a bitter, vicious attack as that which is being made at this time. Every possible force and influence that can be marshaled together is being utilized in the attempt to break down the Union and throw the coal industry back forty years to the days of industrial servitude. There are injunctions and more injunctions; lawsuits and more lawsuits; contract violations and more contract violations; attempted starvation and more attempted starvation; evictions and more evictions; gunmen and more gunmen; oppression and more oppression; treachery and more treachery. All of these, and more, are being used to the fullest possible extent. It is a tremendous effort to paralyze the hand of the Uuited Mine Workers of America which protects the mine workers of this country. The greatest financial and industrial interests in America are behind this push for the destruction of the Union."

To make the whole thing more vivid, along comes

Cleveland Press

the report of the Russell Sage Foundation on unemployment. Little need be said upon this subject. The report, according to the Chicago Federation News (formerly the New Majority,) shows that "averaging good and bad years, 10 to 12 per cent of all workers in the United States (several millions of men and women) are out of work all of the time. Widespread unemployment is now a constant phenomenon with far-reaching economic, social, psychological and moral bearings."

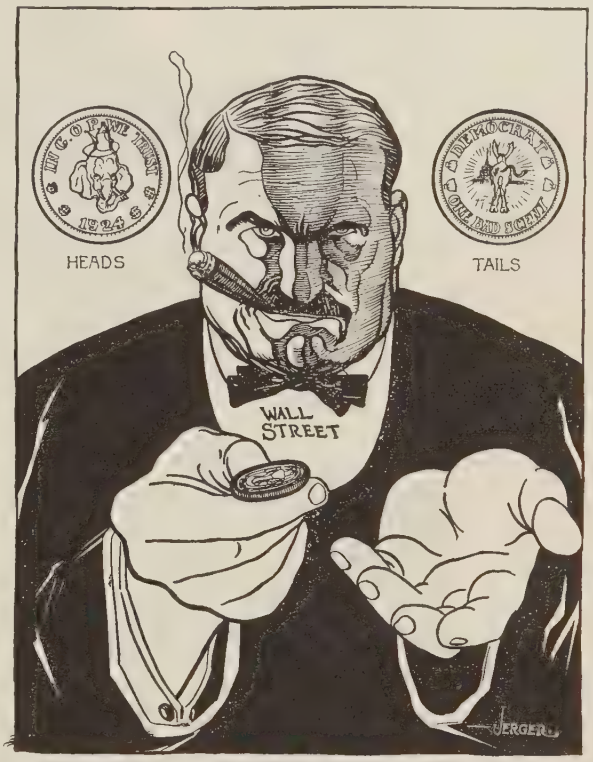
Cal is naturally silent about all these phenomena. Dawes, in his bellowings, forgets them in toto. John "Wallstreet" Davis mumbles about them, only after he has heard what La Follette has to say. Soon he will have Bob's speeches down by heart. For, he is the decoy duck, put out by the Interests to draw the progressive vote away from La Follette. In order that the Republican Klandidate may be continued in the White House. La Follette and Wheeler alone stand out with a clear challenge to our present abuses.

The farmers, as the Iowa Homestead hammers home, can only look to the Progressives for relief. The miners can only gain victory through the complete destruction of the injunction, as the Illinois Miner says. Pointing to the sentence in the La Follette platform reading, "We favor abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes," the coal-diggers' paper states: "A vote for La Follette is, therefore, a vote against the injunction, the foremost menace to organized labor. Working people, keep your mind on this one plank of eleven words and you will not go wrong on election day."

The lineup is right here. On every item of the producers' hopes, it is the La Follette-Wheeler group that stands solidly with the men underneath. The Labor Press sees all this clearly. With almost one voice, it has thrown itself into the campaign. The Oregon Labor Press finds that even in so evident a matter as the fight on child labor, the fighting Senators and their supporters are the only political force with any definite determination to put the change through.

Then, to refer to only one more item, there is Sugar. What a remarkable tale of thievery could be written around that. Senator La Follette himself tells us something of it in his La Follette's Magazine, widely quoted by the Labor Press. He shows that both A. Mitchell Palmer, "the fighting Quaker," and Herbert Hoover, the "food controller," assisted the sugar gamblers by sending out rumors that there was a sugar shortage when there was none —Palmer at the time that he was Attorney General, chasing the Reds; Hoover, when he and Daugherty were buncoeing the Public, posing as its saviors. Cal, as Senator La Follette says, has joined the Hoover-Daugherty-Palmer outfit. He is now doing the dirty work, as usual, for the Sugar Combine. He is holding back the facts on Sugar. He has failed to take any step to reduce the sugar duties, and act within his power under the present tariff laws.

The Republican propaganda artists did a poor job when they hit on the motto "Keep Kool with Koolidge." "Kal Keep Kwiet—Koncerning Krafty



Konspiracies" would have been more appropriate. Or, concerning everything we know about him: "Klool Klalvin Kloodige, Klandidate," would not have been half bad.

Little wonder that Charles A. Lyman, former secretary of the National Board of Farm Organizations, predicts that La Follette and Wheeler will sweep the West. His forecast is that they will carry at least two-thirds of the states west of the Mississippi River, Wisconsin, Illinois, and probably Michigan and Indiana in the West. He sees a huge popular vote that will put Fighting Bob in the White House.

This would be a true reward for the man who has put his whole life-blood and energy into our fight; and who opposes so-called "common sense" and so-called "common honesty" with those greatest of all qualities, Uncommon Sense, Uncommon Honesty and Uncommon Courage.

BUILT BY A YOUNG UNION

Home of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Knitters in Philadelphia. When you get a chance, visit it—and the live group of union men and women who own it.

Here's a Union For You

By GUSTAVE GEIGES

DURING the month of November, 1909, about twenty-five full fashioned hosiery knitters held a meeting in the Lighthouse Building in Philadelphia, for the purpose of forming an organization. The thought in the mind of all was, to advance the interest of the workers individually and collectively. By a unanimous consent of those present, it was decided that they ask for a charter, which was granted by the United Textile Workers of America. We were chartered as the Full Fashioned Hosiery Knitters Union of Philadelphia, Local 706 of U. T. W. of A.

In the early stages of our Union, the employers were very prejudiced against any form of Organization on the part of our workers. This made it a rather difficult task to increase our members. Slow but sure. Along about 1913 and 1914 we had our first real test as a trade union Organization.

At this time the members working in the Peerless and Minora Shops were called out on strike because of the unfair attitude of the men in charge of these plants. Both of these strikes were long-drawn-out fights, lasting for many months. The Minora Shop went out of business about two years after the strike was called and the Peerless Shop has done practically nothing up to this day. Along about 1915 we were forced to face an issue which seemed insurmountable at that time. Our members differed as to the form of Organization and the question of affiliation. We had a divided house. Instead of one united Organization, we had two separate groups, both antagonistic toward the other.

In 1919 we had a general strike which involved practically all of the shops in Philadelphia with the exception of a few independent manufacturers who had agreed to meet our terms. After a thirteen-weeks strike we succeeded in establishing the 48 hour work week in the full fashioned hosiery industry in Philadelphia, and in addition to the shorter work week we succeeded in receiving an approximate 20 per cent increase in wages. During these years we were instrumental in overcoming many conditions that were detrimental to the workers, such as a knitter operating two footers, apprentices going on machines after having served their apprenticeship term, received the low rate of $9.00 per week instead of the piece work rate which they were entitled to.

In many cases the foreman would receive the entire amount paid for operating as high as four machines, and he in turn would pay the apprentice just whatever he pleased. These apprentices would do practically all of the work and were held responsible for the work that was turned out on the machine in question. Up until October of 1918 practically 75 per cent of the knitters operating leggers were operating two machines, but due to the determined stand taken by our members against the operation of two machines, we have succeeded in reversing the figures, so that today 75 per cent of the legging machines are being operated as single machine jobs, while only about 25 per cent are being operated as double jobs. We were also successful in securing full pay for all apprentices going on machines for themselves and have eliminated entirely the operation of two footers by any one knitter.

The Big Test

During the year of 1921 our members had to face the most critical period in the history of our Organization. Up until this time we had been doing business with the Full Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers Association. Representatives of the organization would meet the representatives of the employers and would enter our agreement in regards to conditions and wages that were binding to employee and employer alike. But without any consideration for the workers of the industry, the employers posted notices in all of the associated shops notifying the membership that on and after January 1, 1921, all employees would have to accept a 15 per cent reduction in wages. Most of the employers refused even to recognize a committee of their own men. Under no consideration would they meet the representatives of the organization. We had very little money in our treasury, but never-the-less we decided to fight against what we believed to be an attempt on the part of the employers to destroy our organization.

The employers in taking this unfair stand, did something for the workers of our industry that we ourselves could not accomplish. They united both factions into one solid fighting group. Up until this time the one group known as Local 706 fought their own battles in their own way and the other group known as Branch 14 of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, decided the policies of the latter organization. Both groups

now realized that the very life of the workers was at stake. The representatives of both organizations held a number of meetings, and finally decided that they were going to share one another's burdens, fight shoulder to shoulder as a solid unit. The members working for the employers that refused to take unfair advantage of the workers, assessed themselves to the extent of 25 per cent of their wages. But the members working were in such a small minority, that we were unable to pay strike pay until the first week of May, 1921.

Most of the members involved in this strike were laid off during the month of June, 1920. The strike was called on the second day of January, 1921. The members on strike were thus out of work actually ten months before they received one penny strike pay. The sacrifices made by the strikers up to this time will linger forever in the memories of all who participated in this fight. The first strike pay that was paid to the strikers amounted to $11.00 for married men, $7.00 for single men, and $4.00 for boys and girls. This was gradually increased up to $22.00 for the married men, and the strike pay of the others was increased proportionately. There is no need mentioning the tactics used by the employers during this strike. As in all other strike situations, the employers left no stone unturned in their effort to break the moral of the strikers. The mills were filled with scabs, which later proved a very costly proposition to the employers, because practically all of them were incompetent. There were very few desertions in our ranks and as a result the employers were dependent almost entirely upon unskilled help.

Union of Unions

During the latter part of October, 1921, a joint meeting was held of representatives of employers and employees. At this meeting an agreement was made whereby every striker was to return to work on his or her job, or the equivalent, under the same conditions as prevailed previous to the strike taking place. After the strike was over, the members of the two factions decided that it was about time to get all of the workers into one solid organization. After having held several meetings , it was decided that on May 1, 1922, we would amalgamate into one organization—this was agreed to by a unanimous vote of the members of both organizations.

Through the amalgamation, we became known as Local 706, Branch No. 1, of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America. Through the latter body, we are members of the American Federation of Labor.

The Union owns a building which is clear of all debts. This building was almost entirely destroyed by fire in the month of February, 1920, but the determination of our members to go forward was again manifested (not by talk but by deed). They decided to assess themselves in order to reconstruct the building, which lay practically in ruins. The cost of reconstruction amounted to over $50,000 and we believe that there is no local union in the entire country that has a finer and more up-to-date building than we, the local organization of Full Fashioned Hosiery Knitters possess in the city of Philadelphia.

Owing to the tremendous sacrifices made by our members in the past we decided to levy an assessment in order to prepare for the future. As has been stated, the members working during the strike of 1921 assessed themselves 25 per cent., and ever since January, 1921, the entire knitter membership have been paying assessments varying from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent.

In addition to paying their dues and assessments, they have assisted financially many of the individual members who were in distress because of sickness or some other unavoidable accident. We have started what could be termed a Co-operative Insurance Co., known to our members as the Hosiery Workers' Protective Association. Every member agrees in writing to contribute $1.00 through the Secretary, to the nearest relative of any deceased member. This is an entirely voluntary proposition and only those who are members will derive benefits from the Association. We honestly believe that our success as a labor organization has been due to our consideration and thoughtfulness of others. We have never failed to respond to an appeal that was worthy of support, whether members of our organization or any other organization.

Helping Each Other

In addition to the many features that have been mentioned, we are very much interested in the educational work that is being conducted through the medium of the Trade Union Movement, having had a class studying economics during this year. Last but not least, we are in favor of Progressive Political Action as agreed upon by the C. P. P. A. in the Convention in Cleveland on July 4th. We hope that those who read this article will be inspired, because we believe that where there is no vision, life becomes merely a chance, but where there is vision, along with courage and conviction, life becomes a reality and a factor in molding even the destiny of nations.

The White Collar Worker Speaks Up

By LEONARD BRIGHT

A TUBERCULAR, worried creature bent over a desk. A "wise" young man, with a cut-glass diamond in his tie, talking briskly about Babe Ruth and violently about the boss—and then hiding in the corridors to get a smoke. A gum-chewing miss, whose most strenuous mental effort is the reading of the Daily Mirror or Daily News.

These are the glimpses which the manual worker has frequently received of his brother and sister, the office workers. It has not been a picture to inspire confidence, we must admit. It has not indicated a great show of courage or hope. But every shield has another side. There was a time when many manual trades showed something of the same picture —so far as lack of organization goes. We cannot afford to be too hard on the office worker. We must lend a helping hand to make him one of ourselves. If we do not do so, he or she will prove of danger to ourselves. The workers cannot remain half organized. They must go forward or backward in that game.

The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union of New York now has in the field three full time organizers. This is the first time in the history of the New York Union, or any other office workers' local, for that matter, where an organization campaign has been conducted with so much vigor. The office workers' unions consist almost exclusively of workers in labor union, municipal and sympathetic offices. The New York Union is among the first to strike out a new path and organize the office workers of commercial institutions.

President Samuel Gompers, of the A. F. of L., realizing the importance of this work, has personally written to Ernest Bohm, secretary of the New York union, stating: "The American Federation of Labor will continue to co-operate in every way within its power to help in building up and strengthening your organization."

At the present time the office workers are on the side of the employer or indifferent to the struggles of organized labor. As long as they are thus unorganized, they constitute a menace to the rest of the unionized manual workers. Some years ago when the traction strike occurred in New York City, union men and women, and many non-union manual workers refused to ride in scab cars. But the office workers did not hesitate about patronizing them. Who walks into a store that is being picketed? Who never looks for a label in a hat? Who is willing to act as a strikebreaker? Not every office worker is guilty of these acts, but the white collared worker knows least about and does most to hurt the rest of the labor movement.

The White Collar Man Hurts

I remember about thirteen years ago I worked in an office of a cigar manufacturer with a factory in Tampa, Florida. The cigar makers of Tampa went out on strike. The manufacturers thereupon had cigars made in factories in New York. I knew where those factories were. Bookkeepers employed by other manufacturers knew where other scab factories were. If I and the other bookkeepers had been in the labor movement, those factories would have been picketed by the New York cigar makers, and in all probability the strike would have been won.

Again, union parents often complain that they are not understood, and sometimes even ridiculed by their own children for union membership. The younger generation, chiefly employed in offices, getting the psychology of the employer does not see the necessity for unionism. This situation has caused the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union to take upon itself the task of educating the children of its own members to have a deeper sympathy for and appreciation of the work of the trade union movement.

Suppose, on the other hand, office workers were organized. What would happen is very vividly shown by what took place in the dockers strike in England a few months ago. The clerical and supervisory staffs took their stand unanimously behind the striking dockers. The office men were members of their union, and were specifically instructed to confine themselves to their regular duties and give no assistance to "blacklegs" or scabs. The men carried out these instructions loyally, and materially helped win the strike. An answer to the question often put as to whether office workers have any "guts" to strike or put up a fight may be found in the recent strike of the bank clerks in Vienna, Austria. These exploited and "caged" men stood out two weeks and won an increase in wages and prevented their hours from being lengthened. All over Europe the office workers as well as the municipal employees are organized, and have repeatedly forced

RED, REDDER, REDDEST

IS not our cover beautiful to gaze upon?

It is a bright and brilliant hue. Whisper it only: "It is RED."

We have hit upon it with malice aforethought. In order to discuss the virtues and vices of the colors of the spectrum.

Tories, when caught in a great crisis, at all times the world over, find some color to which they attach a superstitious meaning and hurl it at their opponents. In that way, they attempt to distract the attention of the mass from the main issue. The Republicans, when they arose as the Third Party, were called Black Republicans. That was the dangerous color then. The prophecies of the gloomy servants of the Slave Power foretold the complete destruction of the country if the black man was freed. Just as Dawes sees the destruction of the country today if he is deprived of his chance to buncoe the people!

It is just like when you look at the sun. You see many colors. The Tories, looking at the sun of a new movement, see one color. In this case, it is red.

Our own opinion of red is that it is a charming shade. It looks good in the Star Spangled Banner. We wouldn't take it out of that flag for anything—even for Mr. Dawes.

Naturally, the red that the gentle "General" sees is the red of blood. The red he talks about is the red of Revolution. He is seeking to show by an old-time hocus-pocus, that Progressives are disloyal. We plead guilty, "General," of one "disloyalty." The Progressives are disloyal to the "principles" for which you stand. The Progressives are disloyal as Lincoln was disloyal—to the Powers that Be, the members of the House of Have.

But the red is only in the "General's" eye. The blood is only smeared on him. He is the traitor to the common people of this country—in the Lorimer deal, in his O. K. of corruption, in his stand against the workers, farmers, soldiers and mothers of this country.

When American history is written fifty to a hundred years from now, the Tories of this country will be written down as the traitors to America. For, it is the workers, farmers, soldiers and mothers who will write that history. They will be the victors, and the victor always writes the account of what the past really signified. In that day, red may have another meaning. The dangerous shade then may be "blue." Cheer up—and step forward laughing.

conditions from either private or public employers.

The office workers in New York City number 400,000, half of whom are women. When it is remembered what wages and conditions office workers receive it will be appreciated that this competition is also a menace to the labor movement. Office workers help to make up what is known as "the public." They constitute a part of public opinion, and whenever the organized manual workers go out on strike, or demand wage increases, they meet with little sympathy from office workers who are living practically on starvation wages. The readiness with which office workers are willing to replace manual workers on strike whenever possible is due in part to this feeling which has been engendered by the press hostile to labor.

Making Bank Clerks Into Union Men

However, regardless of what assistance the organized office workers might be to the rest of the labor movement, they ought to be and must be unionized for their own sake. The New York Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union is making a businesslike and persistent approach to this problem. With the support of the labor movement and friends of labor, it is conducting a campaign of education which is actually reaching the office workers in commercial establishments. It has a follow-up system and a diversified set of propaganda and organization leaflets, and its own organizers on the job to see the workers in a personal way. The union is in close touch with business agents and officials of the manual workers, and is thus able to get at the office workers in union factories and stores.

Above all, the actual facts are that bank clerks, insurance clerks and office men and women of every description are actually joining the union. The office workers are beginning to realize that only in unionism and collective strength will they individually raise their level up to that of the manual workers whom they were once accustomed to despise. They realize that only in the closest unity with the successful and independent men and women of the American Federation of Labor is there any hope for the brain worker. The New York Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union has been pounding away on this idea, and it is first beginning to reap some of the fruit.

The Making of Religions—Thoughts For Workers to Ponder

By PRINCE HOPKINS

NEW Religions are being turned out wholesale, to take the place of out-of-date models. Most of them are making eyes at Labor, as being a young fellow of good promise. How serious are their intentions towards him? Dare he flirt with them? Dare he be led to propose to any of them?

Of course, it's not only these younger faiths which are beginning to solicit him. Some quite elderly religions, seeing signs of approaching impotence in their present masters, Autocracy and Capitalism, are not above having *liaisons* with a more virile lover.

But Labor should beware, when they get out to dazzle him with their parade of prestige and power. Their past promises to assist him in his struggle if he will embrace them, they have seldom kept. When they have entangled the callow youth, Labor, and sapped his strength, these rich old religions scorn him as a social inferior. They serve Autocracy and Capitalism still; indeed, these Powers generally are in the confidence of Religion during the whole performance. Labor in Australia, which partly accepted a vote-getting alliance with the church, is learning its lesson.

But we are to speak of the young faiths, not the old. For convenience of treating, I'll divide them into four classes. First, are the barbarous beliefs, or throw-backs; second, the modifications of existing religions; third, the imported mysticisms and pseudo-psychological cults, and fourth, some worthy attempts to base a moral philosophy upon science.

By "Throw-backs" I mean those cults which are a reversion to the religion of our jungle-inhabiting ancestors. Their power is due to the stimulating of primitive emotions in us, which sweep us off our feet. Examples of these "throw-backs" are: revival services, "Holy Jumpers" and "Holy Rollers," low-grade negro-christianity, spiritualism, and, in a lesser degree, "fundamentalism," Mormonism, etc.

It's very interesting to stand outside a revivalist tabernacle, and note the exaggerated rhythm in sermon and song which is the chief element in the technique of working up cheap emotion. Conversions made at these revivals, occasionally, but rarely, result in a permanently regenerated life. More than not, they often end in nervous instability or even wreckage. The Spiritualists are recruited largely from a peculiar class of persons known to psychology as Eidetics. They retain into adulthood an ability to call up vivid images of persons they have seen. But, under influence of strong desire, they believe the beloved dead are not really separated from them.

Even people of careful habits in their special professions become amazingly credulous and uncritical outside those professions. The ranks of "mediums" are largely recruited from dishonest sleight-of-hand performers and confidence crooks. They get up lists of credulous persons, containing intimate facts about the latter's past lives, useful with which to surprise them. They pay persons in "good society" to act as "steerers." High class mediums "scorn" to receive fees—but get commissions for recommending bogus investments when they've secured their client's confidence.

It must be clear, that the less the workers have to do with these barbarous cults, the better for their mental and emotional balance, to say nothing of their pocket-books.

Among the cults which are modifications of Christianity, we find many which take their doctrines in part from the Old Testament. Such are the House of David, the Seventh Day Adventists, etc. Others, like the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Babaists radiate almost purely the spirit of the sermon on the mount.

This whole group is in a class distinctly superior to that already considered. Although they are theological and authoritarian, they put forward a code of conduct drawn from modern thought.

As it is well known, the Bible has only to be studied with a little ingenuity, to provide a text for any kind of conduct, from the highest to the basest. The particular interpretation believed in, is what is called a "rationalization" of the student's own inner desires. Our choice of a sect which has an interpretation of the Bible suited to our convenience, is facilitated today by what department stores call having in stock a large selection. The Bible, in short, is a double-barrelled gun!

Labor, therefore, finds at hand a number of "labor churches," with programs well suited to its taste. In certain ways, the immediate effect of going up with some of these organizations would seem "all to the good."

Nevertheless, danger lurks around the corner. These faiths mostly take their stand on what a man thought two thousand years ago. Not one of them proposes a system of morals which shall be re-adjusted periodically in the light of a new social knowledge, acquired through experience and research. They quote a few maxims such as "give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's." They give answer to the crucial question, what does belong to Caesar. Beyond the founder showed no interest in political or industrial questions such as we have to meet today. Even slavery, he left unrebuked. He lived before the age of science, had no appreciation of technology, understood nothing of the sources of community welfare, confined his teachings of kindness to the human race and was so vague in condemning war, that for thousands of years his followers have butchered in his name.

Surely then, Labor doesn't want to hitch itself to these traditions. It must face forward, not backward.

How about the mystical or the make believe psychological sects? Some of them despair of helping the masses. For example, I visited several times the cult led by a man called Gurdiev, whose establishment is at Fontainebleau, in France. He only claims to help a few favored individuals to escape from the misery of things-as-they-are. Again, we might class here Christian Science, a revival of the ancient oriental Berkeley idea held also by the philosopher, that "nothing exists except thought." According to this, the workers need only to imagine that poverty and injustice do not exist in order to achieve Utopia!

But more of these cults make a considerable parade of altruism. They mostly have a liberalizing effect on the sort of people who frequent their lectures. They tend to question all authority, traditionalism and dogmatic standards. Shouldn't Labor then, embrace them?

I think not; because their tendency is to divert their followers from getting to grips with reality. These people live in a child's world where things come about by reciting of magic incantations.

Consider the Hindoo cults. Their big idea is to meditate on the mystic syllable "aum". Then there are the New Thoughters. In order to get better hours for the miners, they would "enter the silence" and direct "thought" waves towards the mine-operators. But I doubt whether this would produce results.

The Theosophist and Anthroposophist sects are among the best of these mystics. Anne Besant, leader of the first, has devoted herself to the cause of Indian rights. Steiner, leader of the second, has shown in his writings a partial appreciation of the industrial crisis. But all of them are away in the clouds either consulting mythical beings called mahatmas in the Himalayan mountains; or certain glands called the pitutiary glands in the top of our heads; or else fumbling with "number systems" which they dream will prove short cuts to knowledge. Even the "practical psychology clubs", and their ilk are organized by persons, often quacks, who know almost as little of either experimental or analytic psychology as they do about the class war.

Otherwordliness, mysticism, magic and pseudo-scientific quackery--these can prove to be nothing exept misleading friends to Labor.

There remains only to consider the attempts to found a moral philosophy upon science. The first laudable effort of this kind was made by Auguste Compte, and called positivism. It is (as was in the early beginning, Buddhism) a complete religion without dragging in the supernatural. Compte accomplished good work. He gave his followers a new historical sense of values. He fitted in with the best accepted thought of his day, and his cult grew.

Unfortunately, he wasn't able to think ahead of his time. He modelled his religion on Roman Catholicism, replacing God by a deified Humanity. Worse, he set himself to deny two great realities, the tide of democratic control and the possibility of a science of psychology. Possibly an influx of labor members into Positivism would remedy these defects, for Compte always favored progress? The experiment has yet to be tried.

We pass over various interesting but abortive attempts by Robert Owen and others to found a Godless religion. The most successful thing of the sort has been done by Felix Adler. The Ethical Culture movement started by him has now spread widely, over and beyond, English-speaking countries. Despite the great freedom of ethical pulpits it remains in essence a religion favorable to the best interest of Labor. Labor may well reciprocate its friendship.

Further Concluding Word will appear in our next issue.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

Louis F. Budenz, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors

CHALLENGING AN OLD SUPERSTITION

FOUR-LEAF clovers and lucky horseshoes are pretty and quaint customs. But when it comes down to real life, they don't mean anything.

Romance is something worth while, if we always remember that it is but the mirage of Reality.

Superstitions of a better sort can be kept as family heirlooms—to remind us of our early home, our parents, our grandmother. As long as we know they are Superstitions and not Facts. Superstitions of the worse sort have no reason for existence at all.

In Professor Lionel Edie's Principles of the New Economics we run across a survival of this latter kind. It says: "Labor's part in production is distinctly confined to the following out of plans, methods, and processes under the guidance of powers higher up. It is not Labor's function to decide whether new machinery shall be installed, or who shall own the machinery, or where the material shall come from or to whom the finished product shall be sold." Again: "Labor's part is primarily muscular and only secondarily mental."

Now, that is not Professor Edie's view as to how things should be. But it is a blunt statement on the way the Industrial Machine operates at the present time. The promise on which it is based is this: It is not for the worker to reason why, it is merely for him to carry out orders.

Under our intense machine system, indeed, "it has been found that for many processes the mentally dull,—even the mentally deficient—are the best operatives." The stupid are the desirable, according to the Present System. "The fit should be eliminated to make room for the unfit." Just at a time, when the demands of the World War and the increase of education have made the cry for Industrial Democracy a thing that cannot be ignored!

This struggle between the wants of the Machine and the wants of the Workers makes our present crisis. It is world-wide. Labor is no longer satisfied with wages and hours and fair working conditions. It knows that these cannot, as a matter of fact, be held unless the workers hold control. "To-day," as Professor Edie adds, "the emphasis is upon Labor's right and ability to participate in the government of industry."

This emphasis was made more emphatic in this country when the A. F. of L. at its Portland convention declared for Democracy in Industry as the goal of the American Movement. In the August issue of the American Federationist, a further statement is made on this demand, in connection with Superpower. The underlying idea of the Federation's program is that the workers, as an organized group, shall come into control of the industries in which they work. The program, still a bit faint and indistinct, has that as its foundation stone.

The A. F. of L., naturally and logically, is suspicious of State ownership. But it must finally recognize that in some branches of activity, State ownership must be applied—with workers' control. In Railroads, Coal and Waterpower there is no other way out. The recent article senses this, when it says that the Electrical Industry must explain the enormous difference between the price of electricity under private ownership in this country and under public ownership in Ontario.

At any rate, an old superstition is being buried under the ground—and each month, new clods of earth are thrown upon it. The workers mean to secure a permanent and controlling voice in industry. What they set their hearts and minds on, is sure to come to pass. That is the way things are drifting.

TWO THOUGHTS

FOR lo! these many years have we heard of the excellence of the present Economic System.

It gives us efficiency. It puts the "best man at the top." We simply could not do without it, so they say.

We present two thoughts that may change our ideas on this subject just a little. One of them is about waste. The whole present system, it could readily be shown, revels in waste—waste of goods, waste of industry, waste of manpower. One little example will be enough for today. Ethelbert Stewart, of the United States Department of Labor, has something worth while to tell us on this point.

Think this over: Mr. Stewart says, from the figures he has collected, that inefficient management in factories is wasting from 25 to 80 per cent of the workers' labor. Worn out machinery is taking the efforts of from 2 to 10 times the number of men needed. Age-old methods are destroying any hope of the workers' labor being put to any efficient advantage.

Hope is around the corner. That is the second thought. One of the worst curses of the present weak system of doing things is the recurrent waves of unemployment. They keep the workers always in bondage, for fear of what the next wave will bring. The workers themselves are meeting this challenge

IN EUROPE

to their manhood. They will not let unemploymnt much longer menace their welfare.

Look at this report from Chicago. It says that more than $500,000 has been paid in unemployment insurance to the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in the short time since their unemployment plan went into effect. The clothing workers of the Windy City found something to turn to during the slack season of the summer. This is what the payment of a few cents each week gave them—Security, to a degree at least.

THAT BRITISH ELECTION

OCTOBER 29 will be a date not soon forgotten in Britain's history. The Labor Government, in power 8 months, will go before the country. It will be tested in the fire of a General Election.

Why the election has come about on so small an issue is more than many observers can tell. Certainly the Labor Government had little to gain by going to bat on the point it did, even though it was many another point that it has not chosen to put before the voters.

The net result of the election, however it may go, all observers agree, will be the wiping out of the Liberal Party. It has signed its death warrant in coalescing with the Tories. The battle of the future will be between the reactionaries and the Labor Party. This in itself will be a gain for Labor. A fake Liberal Party was a comfort and an aid to the Conservative Party. It postponed the day of a show-down. But that day is now hastened by the action of the Liberals themselves. It is a minority confession of their own weakness.

No one can hope to see Labor triumph in this election, to the extent of getting a majority. Its only hope is to increase its popular vote and, if possible, add to its seats in Parliament. The old party coalition will prevent any other hops for the time being.

But Branting comes up again in Sweden, stronger than ever. So will Labor, probably out of power for a time, come up stronger in a few years. It will no longer have the impediment of a camouflaged Liberal group to deal with. The next election will be a straight class fight.

RED RUSSIA TURNS PINK

OLD Father Time is a good workman.

He carves off the rough places in history and makes them smooth. Revolutions, under his hand, become respectable.

Next month the French Government will come into possession of Vizille, the chateau of the last Constable of France. It is the cradle of the French Revolution," and that is why it is being bought as a national monument. There it was that 400 bold citizens of the neighboring town of Grenoble swore that they would no longer support a kingly government. The first act of the Revolution, that; which ended five years later in the birth of the French Republic.

The "Marsellaise" is sung with gusto in our day and age in the most carefully screened-off drawing rooms—with no memory of the terror which its singing spread through Europe a century and a half ago.

Old Father Time and his grandson, Habit, will work the same miracle with the big turn-over in the Land of the Czars and Soviets. It is only a question of a hop, skip and jump on History's pages, until Mr. Hughes' whiskers and those of Karl Marx are seen interlocked in a loving embrace.

It is only a question of a few years until the Reds themselves will be displaying their Pinkness to an admiring world. The salamander process is on today. Trotsky was not victorious at the last meeting of the Communist International in May. But he will be finally. He, or someone with similar ideas. He realizes that the Red Tyranny must be abated, and that something must be done to win the peasants permanently to the Soviet cause.

The New Economic Policy was the beginning of the end of the dream of immediate Communism. Ann Louise Strong, in her FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, traces the change of 1923: "The Communist Party was more firmly in power than ever before—but how much of their Communism was left? In all the details of life, Russia has made a great stride toward capitalism. Wages are paid in money instead of rations, industry must support itcself without drawing from the government funds, shops of private trade are open everywhere, newspapers are full of advertisements, sables and diamonds of 'speculators' appear in theatres and cafes, and the new-rich secure apartments of several rooms, while ordinary folk crowd into small bare quarters."

"State Capitalism," as the Soviets call it, is now the reigning power. The State owns the big industries—including the houses in the cities—and conducts them as public enterprises. The Communist Party, Miss Strong says, now realizes that Communism is a thing of many generations' growth. They are getting at it, step by step. The N. E. P. is not a move backward, as she sees it, but merely an inevitable change in tactics, that will finally lead onward again.

Whatever the final goal, the change is taking place. The private profiteer has crept back into Russian life. The peasant has not accepted the Communist idea. Kalinin, himself a peasant, in his report

to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party, pointed out that further concessions to the peasants' views must be made.

At the same Congress, Zinoviev reported that industrial production had increased to 41 per cent. of pre-war level, as compared to 32 per cent. for the year before. Foreign trade had gone up to 20 per cent. of pre-war, compared to 14 per cent. twelve months previous. Slowly, therefore, Russia is again seeing daylight economically.

Painful and puzzling is the slower progress that civil liberty has made. The Czeka is still on the job and political prisoners in great numbers are still in Russian prisons. There is where Trotsky may triumph also, if report has the thing down correctly. He stands for an end of Terrorism. But that point has not been won—not yet. Old Father Time is the ally for whom Trotsky must wait.

NIGHT WORK IN BAKERIES IN EUROPE

HOW many workers, staying late one night, or working the night shift one week, swear softly that night work is a dog's job?

The bakers who in small bakeshops all over the country work every night in the year know that it is just that. And, even governments are beginning to recognize the fact and to try to attack the problem of the unnecessary night work in bakeries.

The Sixth Session of the International Labor Conference (League of Nations) which opened on June 16, 1924, had the problem to discuss—how shall night work in European bakeries be regulated? And, American bakery workers, who have no regulatory provisions for night work, may take heart from the work that has so far been done in Europe, and go on to the eradication of night work in this country.

There is no need to talk of the evils of night work in bakeries. Night work in three shift factories where the men take turns at the night shift is bad enough, but in bakeries where the men must take the night shift every night in the year, for many years in succession—as long as they work in bakeries—it is much worse. It has a serious effect on health, as a result of lack of sunshine, lack of fresh air, lack of outdoor exercise, and lack of sleep. It has a more serious effect on the social life of the bakers who are asleep when all the people who live around them are awake. They find it difficult to get married, and when they do, their home life is, of necessity, not normal. They can take no part in the community festivities because of their peculiar hours.

As a result of all these factors, they feel themselves outside the life of their community and their rate of suicide is very high. In Great Britain, their suicides rank third highest. In Italy, their suicides rank seventh. They are also more given to irregular behavior—drunkenness, wild living, loss of self-respect and absence of personal cleanliness.

The price that the bakery workers pay for the large profit that their employers gain from their night work is very high.

The causes of night work are very many—but most of them are the same as those causing misery in other trades—the desire of the employers to make a little more money. In the bakery trade this is complicated by the consumers' desire for fresh bread at the time he wants it. The bakery worker must suffer because his employer will work him at night in order to make that additional profit that comes from the sale of bread early in the morning.

But the European countries, suprred on by the bakery workers, have begun successfully to limit the number of hours worked, and to bar out entirely night work. Norway and Finland require a nightly rest of 12 hours, and forbid all work from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. Sweden, the Netherlands and New South Wales require a nightly rest of 10 hours and forbid work from 8 p.m. to 6a.m. Germany, Soviet Russia, Denmark, Austria, Uruguay, Poland and Hungary require a nightly rest of 8 hours and generally speaking forbid work between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. Italy, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Greece, and the Swiss Canton of Ticino require a seven hour nightly rest, and France and Spain have a six-hour nightly rest required.

Many more countries had a nightly rest during the war, for then, in order to discourage the eating of bread, they forbade the sale of bread until twelve hours after baking. The International Labor Conference is seriously considering the same sort of provision for all Europe.

The fact is, that European bakers are much better protected than American. In Europe, there is much more concern over the health of the bakery workers, as a result of their own efforts in that direction. In America, very little has been done yet and the bakery trust which is growing in strength daily, is using all the means in its power, to prevent anything from being done.

American workers, however, are no more immune to all the bad conditions that result from night work than European. Very little has been yet done for them, because they have not fought sufficiently hard, and they have not had the support of the labor unions in their fight—as the European bakers have had. The European bakers were no more anxious about the welfare of them than are the American, but the efforts of the bakers forced them to pay attention to them, with a result that night work is greatly reduced, and is being reduced further, and that the governments of separate countries, as well as the governments jointly in the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations are recognizing officially the dangers of night work.

With Our Readers

(The interest aroused by the subjects discussed in recent issues of LABOR AGE has flooded this office with letters from our readers. It is impossible to publish all of them, but from now on we will devote at least one page to the most interesting of this correspondence.)

GOOD WORDS

From Albert Coyle and M. H. Hedges

CONGRATULATIONS on the August issue have come in to us from many sources. Judging from the letters received, it was the happiest of our numbers.

In particular was it pleasing to get a good word from Albert Coyle, Editor of the BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS JOURNAL, and from M. H. Hedges, of the Seakers' Service Bureau in Minneapolis. Coyle speaks highly of our cover and technical features and Hedges says: "I can't help telling you how much I liked the story THE CHALLENGE ACCEPTED, in the August LABOR AGE. I thought it was the most moving and enlightened story that I had read on the Cleveland Convention."

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY is that social and psychological condition in which the industrial organization, the economic system, the state of mind (both individual or personal and collective or social), the kind of government and the other circumstances and human forces affecting the thoughts and lives of the people, all harmonize to produce and maintain the greatest possible equality of opportunity, for all members of the community, in controlling and perfecting and in securing the benefits of the system by which all human needs are supplied.

Industrial Democracy has been, and may be, practiced, in a limited way, in well-regulated families (especially in rural homes) and in Co-operative Colonies or Socialistic Communities, whose members possess sufficient intelligence and morality to prevent any kind of autocracy and to practice social justice and equality of opportunity. And a beginning may be made in the introduction of Industrial Democracy, under the present industrial and economic conditions, by the use of such devises as shop committees, joint boards, industrial councils, industrial (employer-employee) conferences, etc. But complete and perfect Democracy is impossible under the capitalistic economic system. Private property and profit, every kind of special privilege and power to exploit, and all kinds of dictatorship and intollerance must be abolished before we can have any kind of real Democracy among the people in general.

Anything which gives the workers a share in the control and management of any part of the industrial organization, and any moral and intellectual development which will make such a system operative is a step toward the creation of the conditions wherein Industrial Democracy is practicable. And profit-sharing schemes, radical movements, trade unions, the co-operative movement, syndicalists, industrial unionists, socialists of all kinds, and many other educational, progressive, liberal and reform forces, are all helping to create the psychological, industrial, political, and social conditions under which Industrial Democracy may be practiced.

Industrial Democracy cannot exist separate from Democracy in general. Complete and perfect Democracy is only attainable in proportion as humanity as a whole is organized to constitute the complete organism we call Society, in which each individual member or part performs the proper service for the good of every other individual member or part and for the perfection of the whole social body of mankind. When the process of integration and growth, development and perfection, has advanced far enough, there will emerge a complete organization of the social body of humanity throughout the world, which will include a complete correlation and unification of all human activities and relations and a co-ordination of all the agencies and institutions of Society. And the most important characteristic of this universal organization of mankind will be Democracy and Efficiency, which will be manifest in the mind and spirit of the people, the methods of the control and management of human affairs, and in the form of constitution, as well as in the behavior of individuals and groups or peoples and nations in their relations to and with each other and (especially) in their attitude toward and relation to the system by which human labor and the resources of Nature and the skill of Man are used to supply all human needs.

True and complete Democracy is not exclusively industrial, political, psychological, personal or social; but is attained only in proportion as the principles of equality of opportunity and social justice and applied in the management of all the affairs of mankind, and as personal and social efficiency and individual freedom and good government are combined in the complete organization of Society.

JOHN J. KLEIN.

Canisteo, N. Y.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

LOOKING AT AMERICA

AMERICA, revealed in the works of an outstanding American, and America, coolly and thoroughly analyzed, greet us in books of recent issue.

One of the interesting Progressives in the United States Senate is Wm. E. Borah. Some of his speeches before that body have now been collected into a book, AMERICAN PROBLEMS (Duffield & Co., 1924). Particularly good are his defence of the right of free speech even in times of national emergency, his protest against the Versailles Treaty, his advocacy of the recognition of Russia, and his plea on behalf of our political prisoners. It was Borah, also, who introduced the resolution looking to the Washington Disarmament Congress. He will be found to be generally upon the right side of public questions, particularly of a sentimental character. We are glad to see his speeches thus brought forth from the obscurity of the Congressional Record in which they seemed likely to remain buried.

The difficult task of steering between sychphantic eulogy and undiscriminating condemnation, was the goal set for himself by H. M. Kallen in SULTURE AND DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES (Bont & Liveright, 1924.) He has succeeded in a fine degree. This author sees the facts unblinkingly, but his strong historic sense enables him to explain them in sympathetic, understanding fashion.

Take this discussion about the Declaration of Independence as an example: The English governing class had claimed to be superior to the colonists. "Whereupon the colonists, through their representatives, the signatories to the Declaration, replied that they were quite as good as their traditional betters, and that no one should take from them certain possessions which were theirs. This is the whole, actual, historic meaning of the Declaration of Independence; . . . What has survived . . . is not its practical meaning; what has survived is its verbal and logical meaning . . . Again, as in 1776, Americans of British ancestry apprehend that certain possessions of theirs, which may be lumped under the word Americanism are in jeopardy. The danger comes, once more, from a force across the water" (i.e., immigration) "but the force is this time regarded not as superior, but as inferior. . . . To conserve that inalienable rights of the colonists of 1776, it was necessary to declare all men equal; to conserve the inalienable rights of their descendants in the 20th century, it becomes necessary to declare all men unequal."

THE HOODED KLAN

THE very fine books dealing with the Klan have just come to hand. Both are free of mere animosity. They treat their subject from the basis of broad understanding of the American mind, of the peculiar problems of the south and of the dreary small towns in which the Klan chiefly has its roots.

The one which more exclusively deals with this subject is J. M. Mecklin's THE KLU KLUX KLAN (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1924.) Prof. Mecklin has already written several books on such subjects as race friction. He approaches the present topic from the viewpoint of an historical and socialogical survey. It is interesting thhat he seems to find the smallest of Ku Kluxers among the farmers and the working class, the latter being definitely hostile. His study of communities in which the Klan has flourished convinces him that "Where such methods are used to any great extent by a large organization such as the Klan there is practically no limit to the extent to which it may become a source of demoralization in the community. It breeds cowards both inside and outside the Klan." "The Klan has never had any real justification for its existence. It has flourished by creating false issues, by magnifying hates and prejudices or by exploiting misguided loyalties. It cannot point to a single great constructive movement which it has set on foot."

The other volume is Frank Tannenbaum's DARKER PHASES OF THE SOUTH. (G. P. Putnam's Son's, 1924.) As appears from the title, its subject is a broader one. The author will be remembered as having led an orderly group of men into a church in 1914 to demand work, for which he served a year in the penitentiary. With the same fearlessness and sympathy for the world's workers as then characterized him, and yet with an altogether unusual degree of tolerance and real psychological insight, Tannenbaum has made this study of such burning questions as the klan, the southern mill towns, southern prisons, etc. He finds the southern fear of being outbred by the negro so intense that if "you cannot cure tuberculosis in the white community unless you also cure it in the colored community—the program would have to be abandoned . . . in those districts where the negro population is large."

Yet he's not pessimistic, for he believes one problem which can only coexist with great provincialism. The relief is already at hand, in the coming in of Italian and other foreign stocks, in industrial development, and in the emigration in large numbers of the negroes from those regions where they're badly treated.

GILLETTE'S SOCIAL DREAM

Almost surprising book is THE PEOPLE'S CORPORATION, by King C. Gillette, the "razor king," (Boni & Liveright, 1924.) Here is this head of a great business corporation, indulging in a dream which greatly resembles that of the early state-socialists. The only pity is that before putting it on paper, and actually proposing to its readers, that they should combine with him to inaugurate the new ideal regime, Gillette, for all we can gather, seems to have studied the history of the evolution of socialism from just such dreams as his own into the more concrete and practicable proposals of the present time.

For the essential weakness of this proposal by a "practical business man" is its lack of acuity. A single point among many which could be made in criticism must here suffice as illustration. This international socialistic state which he proposes, is to be formed along the lines of a corporation; it is to grant ideal working conditions to all its employees and the method by which it's to come into possession of all the property of the whole world, is, by purchase! How naive; and yet it's good to see that even among the "captains of industry," the seed of socialistic idealism is working.

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